

MAY 27 1961

Radio and Television Albert Burke Finding Washington Audience

FOIA b3

CPYRGHT
By Lawrence Laurent

READERS WRITE AWAY

Dr. Carl Ramus of 3318 Gumwood drive, Hyattsville, Md., asks if he can get

copies of the Sunday night lectures of Albert Burke (8:30 p. m., WTTG). He adds: "To my mind, Burke's lectures are the best talks on the air and I would very much like to have printed copies for re-reading."



Laurent

The answer is that the talks are not being printed, at the moment. However, Mark Lyons, a vice president of Metropolitan Broadcasting Co., is trying to provide copies.

From J. L. Maury Jr. of 5511 Prospect st., Chevy Chase comes a complaint that the titles of Burke's lectures are not listed in the Sunday television highlights. The reason is that we have been unable to get the information in time for publication.

Maury, who lives in Connecticut and broadcasts in New York City, is trying to spend more time in Washington. He has promised that he'll schedule the subjects of the programs in time for publication.

Reader Maury writes: "The format of this program, although in no way complex, very deftly utilizes techniques which can be matched by no other media. Actually it consists of a speaker discussing various aspects of the problems confronting the United States. In his commen-

tary, Burke is vigorous, energetic and often outspoken. Some of his material is controversial. However, all of what he has to say is important. It is important in the light of the continued existence of this country as a strong and influential leader of the Free World."

A LETTER signed by "Zelda Goosebaum" (can there be such a name?) contains this comment: "The late flicks on TV that keep us awake nights are the same ones that used to put us to sleep 20 years ago."

LOUIS JOHNSON of Washington asks: "Did you notice the honer on a recent 'Have Gun, Will Travel' program. Calamity Jane was taking a bath in a modern, tiled bathroom."

I didn't see the program, but from all accounts by reliable historians the biggest honer was to have Calamity Jane taking a bath in any sort of a bathroom or in any kind of water."

PATRICK D. HAZARD of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania is teaching this summer in Hawaii. He sends a postal card which reports: "After Captain Kangaroo, TV goes black until 4. Just another instance of how civilized this 'primitive' paradise really is."

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

Red Sub Threat Sparks Tiff

By DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON, June 27.

—A disagreement over the Soviet submarine threat has now developed into a dispute over whisky between Reps. Sam Stratton, New York Democrat, and Tom Curtis, Missouri Republican. Each claims the other owes him a case of whisky.

It all started when the Navy offered a case of whisky to anyone sighting a Russian submarine in American waters. Curtis promptly doubled the offer to anyone who could name a single Soviet submarine base that was free of ice the year around.

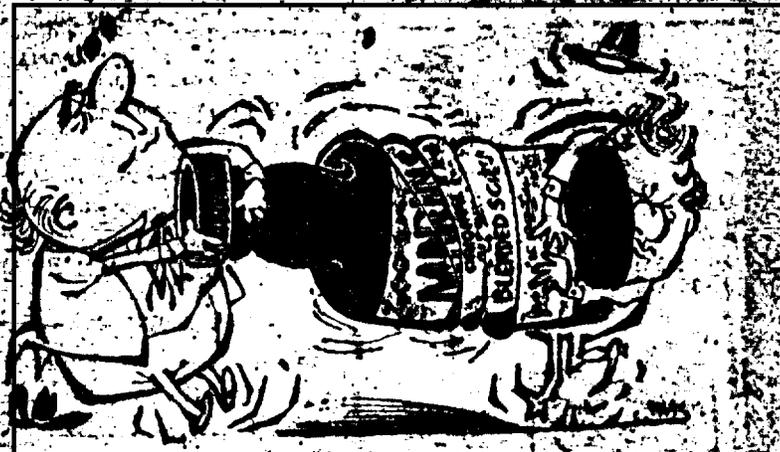
Stratton produced a Navy shipping guide stating Murmansk was ice-free, and demanded his whisky. But Curtis triumphantly discovered in the shipping guide that icebreakers had to be used during some winter months. He claimed they forced submarines to stay in a narrow lane, making detection easy.

"Curtis is staking a mountain out of a mole hill," Stratton grumbled privately. He found a naval officer who had been stationed at Murmansk during World War II and who claimed the base was operational all year long.

But Curtis claimed he was from Missouri and insisted that ice blockage hampered submarine operations out of Murmansk. Neither Congressman would acknowledge losing the bet, though both insisted their interest in the whisky was secondary to their concern over the submarine problem.

Inter-Dem Splits

How deep the split is within the Democratic and liberal forces was shown during the secret Senate House conference on the housing bill. At times



it was touch and go whether spokesmen of the two chambers would resolve their differences.

"I will have no part of this government by vote," exploded Democratic Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois. "We are not here to please the President and escape his veto, but to draft a housing program that will best serve the public interest."

"I may as well tell you now I will not sign any report by this conference that tears the housing bill to pieces. In that event it will be my intention to file a minority report."

"Senator, neither is it our intention to bring out a bill primarily designed to coincide with the President's views," countered Democratic Rep. Wright Patman of Texas. "However, I think you will agree that it is better to bring out something he will sign, rather than have all the work we have put into this bill wiped out by a veto."

"Our first duty is to the people we represent, not the President," disputed Douglas, supported by Democratic Sen. Joe Clark of Pennsylvania. "Since this conference began there has been a disposition not to report a bill that will best solve our

housing needs, but rather to meet the President halfway. I can't go along with that line of thinking."

Democrat Albert Rains of Alabama and Patman replied that the amended bill limited the duration of the housing program, not the funds immediately needed for slum development, public housing, etc.

"Without some modification, we are risking a veto, in which case we won't have a housing law this session," argued Rains. "Is that what you want? This bill isn't perfect, but it's a good bill."

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Matter of Fact**Khrushchev's Longer in the Claw**

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By Stewart Alsop

SOMETIMES IT is instructive to compare the hopes of the past with the realities of the present. Last July 4, when Nikita Khrushchev purged his "Stalinist" colleagues in the Kremlin, the New York Times accurately described the mood of the Capital as one of "gleeful speculation." The burden of this gleeful speculation was that Khrushchev had "won a smashing victory for his new look policies of easing tensions at home and abroad."

This hopeful interpretation of the Soviet purge seemed reasonable enough. The main charge against the "anti-party group" was that they had "opposed the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence . . . relaxing tensions . . . and friendly relations." Certainly, the departure of the stony-faced Molotov from the seats of Soviet power seemed an augury of better times to come. Yet what has happened since?

What has happened is that Soviet foreign policy has been tougher and more aggressive than at any time since Stalin's death. Very shortly after Khrushchev's triumph, the Soviets made it crystal clear that they were no longer interested in negotiating seriously on disarmament.

Since then, the Soviets have talked and acted in a manner worthy of Molotov at his nastiest. There have been, to name only a few examples, the very tough note to the Adenauer government, the even tougher note to Turkey, the charge that the United States was fomenting war in the Middle East, the threatening Gromyko interview, a series of fist-shaking Pravda editorials, and the deliberately menacing tone of the announcement of the Soviet test of a long range ballistic missile.

The new tough line has not been confined to talk, moreover. The dispatch of Soviet cruisers and submarines to the Mediterranean was clearly meant to underline the tough words. And in recent weeks the number of United States Navy contacts with Soviet submarines in or near American waters has also sharply increased.

ALTOGETHER, among those who are paid to think about such things, there is no

longer the slightest doubt that Khrushchev, immediately after his triumph, deliberately decided to get tough with the West.

All sorts of possible reasons are cited to explain this Khrushchev decision, from the newly powerful influence of Marshal Zhukov to the need to disabuse the West of any notion that the Kremlin purge was a symptom of Soviet weakness.

But Khrushchev is now undoubtedly the supreme shaper of Soviet policy, and therefore a good part of the explanation surely lies in the character of Khrushchev himself. Everyone who has had contact with Khrushchev has carried away one clear impression—that he is a gambler, a man willing and even eager to take great risks.

One of his most striking characteristics, moreover, is a peasant's delighted pride in his technical achievements of Russian science. In 1955, when the Soviets first displayed their long-range Bison jet bomber at the Red Air Force Day show, one of the American air attaches trained

his binoculars on the reviewing stand. He saw Khrushchev jumping up and down with joy, grinning and thumping the staid Bulganski on the back.

CONSIDER HOW the world scene must look to this man, especially now that his scientists have given him, in the ICBM, the shiniest and most murderous of new toys.

He sees the West, led by the United States, unilaterally disarming. With his gambler's instinct, and his doctrinal conviction that the West is doomed anyway, this must seem to him no time for negotiation and accommodation. It must seem to him, rather, a time to press forward boldly, and to take big risks, in order to hasten the West's inevitable doom.

This seems, at least, a reasonable partial interpretation of the increasingly tough and aggressive tone of Soviet policy, ever since the event which caused such gleeful speculation in Washington less than three months ago.

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Squaring the Soviet Circle

By Marguerite Higgins

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The beneficent actions of Peter the Great were accomplished with repelling violence. Public reform was a struggle of despotism with the people, with its sluggishness. He hoped through the threat of his authority to evoke initiative in a slave society . . . and to introduce into Russia the European sciences, and popular education of the necessary condition of social initiative. He desired that the slave, remaining a slave, should act consciously and freely. The interaction of despotism and freedom, of education and slavery, this is the squaring of the circle—the riddle we have been solving for 100 centuries since Peter the Great and which is still unsolved . . .”—written at the turn of the century by the Soviet historian Klutchevsky.

BUT will Soviet Russia's present leadership succeed at last in squaring the circle—in evoking initiative in a slave society?

It is certainly true that the development of individual initiative (within Communist rules) has become a prime target of Russia's top leadership. This is certainly not because of any love of freedom in the Western sense of the world but because the Russians are making gigantic efforts to change their present society—which amounts to inefficient state capitalism—to efficient state capitalism. Only by taking the waste, bureaucracy, sly fear, over-centralization out of the system can the Russians come anywhere near their goal of "overtaking and surpassing" the United States of America and other leading capitalist powers. And the Russian leaders know it.

The very practical matter of harnessing individual initiative to Communist goals was an important—but generally overlooked—part of the Communist party boss Nikita S. Khrushchev's argument against Stalinist terror in his famous "secret speech" to the Twentieth Party Congress.

"We should not forget," Khrushchev said, "that due to the arrests of party, Soviet and economic leaders, many workers began to perform their jobs uncertainly, showed over-cautiousness, feared all which was new, feared their own shadows and began to show less initiative in their work."

However eager official American circles may be to insist that nothing Russian has really changed (which is undoubtedly true of over-all Communist aims)

to overlook the enormously important domestic happenings within the Soviet Union of the past few months designed to promote what the Russian historian described so long ago as "social initiative."

Certainly the essentials of dictatorship that made Stalin's terror possible have not been abolished and the screws theoretically could be put back on. But even in a dictatorship there are important matters of degree just as some prisons are enormously better run than others. And from the point of view of the Russian inside Russia, there have been some distinct improvements that make life much more comfortable.

For instance:

The widely hated 1940 law

denounced trial by confession and on April 23 a watchdog committee was set up to guard against abuse of police power.

The Soviet government has ordered important decentralization of authority both in agriculture and industry so as to promote efficiency by letting local authorities decide what is best for their own communities.

In another rather stilted and certainly limited step, the Soviet press has been talking of a greater need of "freedom of discussion" and has invited such groups as trade unions to stop being fearful and proceed to debate issues in public with the management of Soviet enterprise.

Again on a small scale, Soviet tourists are being permitted to travel around Europe with 1,700 scheduled to go abroad on Soviet cruise ships this summer.

Turning from the isolationism under Stalin, the Soviet government has stressed the need to learn in scientific and other fields from Western achievements and has encouraged Soviet scientists to speak with increasing frankness to Western visitors.

Not basically significant? Still the average Russian today is less personally afraid than at any time in the last twenty years, as any informed traveler can report.

In providing materialist incentives for its modern slave society, the Russian leadership has already had to make an enormous bow to human nature (which, it turned out, not even the Communists have changed) and adopt methods long ago prevalent in so-called bourgeois societies. But the Communists, of course, would never admit to this.

In touring the Kharkov tractor plant in the Soviet Ukraine, for instance, this correspondent once asked about a blazing announcement on the factory bulletin board. It concerned an award given an engineer for inventing a way of re-drilling a metal part so as to use the same piece twice.

His reward: ten per cent of the factory's net savings for the next fiscal year (fifty thousand rubles).

"That sounds very capitalistic to me," I remarked at the time.

"Oh, no," said the factory director, "that represents the Socialist incentive."

But the key question in Russia is the great effort to square

efficiency and slavery in modern times. Is what will happen in an era when relaxation of terror (even though modest by our standards) is combined with popular education. For though millions of Russians may be misinformed, their government in the process of seeking armed and industrial power has had to educate the masses in the essentials of reading, writing, arithmetic, engineering, etc. They know how to think.

Won't individuals who are educated and know how to think—the cream of the Soviet intellectual crop—inevitably turn in a liberalized atmosphere to wondering about the logic of a system which by the admission of the Communists themselves was twisted by one man into the instrument for "an era of tragedy?"

Instead of promoting individual initiative, wouldn't internal relaxation of tension bring questioning, even eventually demand for a change?

Like Peter the Great before them, Russia's dictators may indeed find how difficult it is to square the circle: to persuade slaves, who must remain slaves, "to act consciously and freely," especially now that for the first time in history the slaves have the weapon of education and thought. And by their concessions of the past few years the Russian leadership has already given an initial tribute to the stubborn opposition of the masses whose answer to despotism has been sluggishness and apathy.

But the sad reminder is that in two hundred years of trying to square the circle, Russia's despots have always in a show-down chosen to revert to a slave society with all its inefficiency than to yield to freedom with its threat to their power. And there will have to be many more concessions, many more adaptations to historic demands of human nature, before the present Soviet regime could be viewed as an exception. For as the Communist party boss Khrushchev himself remarked, his regime has no objection to "terror when necessary"; and the necessity, by his definition, would arise out of any real threat to his regime's dictatorship.